

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STOCKH 00448 01 OF 02 271854Z

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 IO-10 DPW-01 ACDA-10

AID-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 RSC-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAJ-01 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /091 W

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O P 271745Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3791

INFO AMEMBASSY SAIGON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

USDEL JEC PARIS

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 0448

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, VN, VS, SW

SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER SPEAKS ON VIETNAM

1. SWEDISH FOREIGN MINISTER SVEN ANDERSSON GAVE SPEECH ON VIETNAM JAN 27 TO MEETING SPONSORED BY LEFTWING SWEDISH COMMITTEE ON VIETNAM ON OCCASION OF SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF SIGNING OF PARIS VIETNAM AGREEMENTS. MEETING WAS CHAIRED BY BRIGITTA DAHL, CHAIRMAN OF THE SWEDISH COMMITTEE FOR VIETNAM, AND WAS ATTENDED BY AMBASSADORS FROM NORTH VIETNAM, SOVIET UNION, AND VARIOUS OTHER EASTERN COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS BY HEAD OF PRG "DELEGATION" HERE. BRITISH AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS, WHO WERE INVITED, DID NOT ATTEND, BUT SENT MEMBERS THEIR STAFF TO FOLLOW PROCEEDINGS. NO INVITATION WAS RECEIVED BY THIS EMBASSY.

2. FOLLOWING IS INFORMAL EMBASSY SUMMARY OF ANDERSSON'S
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PAGE 02 STOCKH 00448 01 OF 02 271854Z

SPEECH:

A. TODAY, TWO YEARS AGO, THE PARIS AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED. IT HAD DOUBLE HEADLINES--THE END OF THE WAR WAS ONE, THE RETURN OF PEACE WAS THE OTHER.

B. THE AGREEMENT IN CLEAR LANGUAGE PUT AN END TO CONTINUED AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM. THE UNITED STATES CONFIRMED FOR ITS PART THE STATEMENTS IN THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENT ABOUT VIETNAM INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. TWO YEARS HAVE NOW PASSED SINCE THE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED, AND THE HOPES FOR A PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT IN VIETNAM ACCORDING TO THE TREATY HAS ONLY PARTIALLY BEEN FULFILLED. THE AGREEMENT HAS BEEN OBSERVED INSOFAR AS THE CESSATION OF THE DIRECT AMERICAN WARFARE AGAINST NORTH VIETNAM, THE EVACUATION OF THE AMERICAN MILITARY FORCES FROM SOUTH VIETNAM, AND THE EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS OF WAR. IN NORTH VIETNAM THE BOMBS CEASED FALLING AFTER THE INTENSIVE AIR WAR AT CHRISTMAS 1972. THE REHABILITATION HAS STARTED. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE, WHICH WE GREET WITH SATISFACTION.

C. HOWEVER, IN SOUTH VIETNAM THE GUNS HAVE NOT BEEN SILENCED.... BY A SERIES OF OPERATIONS, THE SAIGON FORCES SEIZED CONTROL DURING 1973 OF IMPORTANT AREAS WHICH WERE CONTROLLED BY THE PRG AT THE TIME THE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED. THESE AREAS WERE LATER RECAPTURED BY THE PRG. TODAY THE FIGHTING CONTINUES. ACCORDING TO AMERICAN REPORTS, ALMOST 100,000 VIETNAMESE HAVE BEEN KILLED DURING THE TWO YEARS SINCE THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT. THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THESE DEVELOPMENTS RESTS HEAVILY ON THE SAIGON REGIME AND THOSE WHO SUPPORT ITS POLICIES....

D. THE PARIS AGREEMENT CALLS FOR AN END OF THE AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN SOUTH VIETNAM, AS PER ARTICLE FOUR OF THE AGREEMENT. IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE AMERICAN LEADERSHIP, AFTER BEING FREED OF ITS MILITARY ENGAGEMENTS IN VIETNAM, HAS NOT ACCEPTED THE FULL CONSEQUENCES OF THE SIGNED AGREEMENT. NEITHER DOES IT SEEM TO HAVE UNDERSTOOD THE LESSON OF THE LAST TWENTY YEARS.
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 STOCKH 00448 01 OF 02 271854Z

E. THE RECENT MILITARY SETBACKS FOR SAIGON HAVE CAUSED THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO STATE THAT HE INTENDS TO ASK FOR STILL MORE MONEY FOR THE SAIGON GOVERNMENT, WHOSE WARFARE IS ALMOST COMPLETELY FINANCED BY THE UNITED STATES. FOR THE CURRENT FISCAL YEAR 1.2 BILLION DOLLARS HAVE BEEN APPROPRIATED, OF WHICH 700 MILLION DOLLARS CONSTITUTE MILITARY AID. NOW AN ADDITIONAL

300 MILLION DOLLARS WILL BE ASKED.

F. ON THE AMERICAN SIDE IT IS SAID THAT ONE FEELS FULLY JUSTIFIED IN VIOLATING THE AGREEMENT BY REFERRING TO THE SUPPOSED VIOLATIONS OF THE OTHER PARTY. THIS OPENS EXTREMELY DISQUIETING PERSPECTIVES.

G. THE REGIME IN SAIGON HAS BEEN ABLE TO CLING TO POWER SOLELY AS A RESULT OF THE AMERICAN SUPPORT. AN INCREASED AMERICAN INTERVENTION WILL ONLY SERVE TO PROLONG THE CONFLICT.

H. IN THE PARIS AGREEMENT, WE HAVE AN INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED FORMULA FOR A SOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT. IT IS DEEPLY TRAGIC THAT THE POSSIBILITIES FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICTS HAVE NOT BEEN USED. THE GOVERNMENT IN SAIGON CONTINUES TO PREVENT THE PRG AND THE THIRD FORCE FROM PLAYING ITS ROLE IN SOUTH VIETNAM'S POLITICAL LIFE WHICH IS STATED IN THE PARIS AGREEMENT.

I. THE PARIS AGREEMENT ALSO INVOLVES LAOS AND CAMBODIA. IN LAOS THERE ARE CONDITIONS FOR A REHABILITATION. BUT THERE IS A SHARP CONTRAST IN CAMBODIA. THERE THE FIGHTING CONTINUES. THE AMERICAN MILITARY SUPPORT OF THE LON NOL REGIME CONTINUES. ALSO IN CAMBODIA THE CONFLICT IS PROLONGED.

J. ANDERSSON THEN DISCUSSES THE REHABILITATION IN NORTH VIETNAM, THE SWEDISH AID PROJECTS AND THE LONG-RANGE DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION.

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PAGE 01 STOCKH 00448 02 OF 02 271841Z

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UNCLAS FINAL SECTION OF 2 STOCKHOLM 0448

K. THIS COOPERATION IS PROMOTED BY OUR CLOSE AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE PRG--NOT THE LEAST WITH ITS REPRESENTATIVES AT THE GENERAL DELEGATION HERE IN STOCKHOLM.... AN IMPORTANT QUESTION IS WHETHER SWEDEN WILL RECOGNIZE THE PRG. WHEN THE PARIS AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED, THERE WERE TWO PARTIES REPRESENTING SOUTH VIETNAM, SAIGON AND THE PRG, WITH EACH ADMINISTERING ITS AREA. THE INTENTION WAS THAT THESE PARTIES SHOULD FORM A NATIONAL COUNCIL OF RECONCILIATION. THIS HAS NOT TAKEN PLACE AND WE MUST STATE THAT THERE ARE STILL TWO ADMINISTRATIONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM. IN THIS SITUATION, THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT CANNOT ASSERT THAT ONE OF THESE TWO ADMINISTRATIONS ALONE REPRESENTS THE STATE OF SOUTH VIETNAM. THIS IS THE REASON WHY WE CANNOT RECOGNIZE PRG AS PER INTERNATIONAL LAW. BUT THAT DOES NOT EXCLUDE OUR FEELING AND EVEN EXPRESSING, SYMPATHY FOR THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE.
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 STOCKH 00448 02 OF 02 271841Z

L. A CONSEQUENCE OF OUR ATTITUDE IS THAT WE PROTEST AGAINST THE DEMANDS OF THE SAIGON REGIME TO REPRESENT ALL OF SOUTH VIETNAM. THIS IS THE BACKGROUND TO THE LONG FROZEN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN SWEDEN AND THE GOVERNMENT IN SAIGON.

M.FOR THIS REASON, WE HAVE ALSO PROTESTED AGAINST THE FACT THAT THE SAIGON REGIME ALONE HAS BEEN REPRESENTING SOUTH VIETNAM IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANS AND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES. WE INTEND ACTIVELY TO ACT FOR EQUALITY BETWEEN THE PARTIES IN SUCH CONNECTIONS.

N. WE HAVE ALSO BEEN CONCERNED ABOUT INTERNATIONAL ORGAIZATIONS PLANNING TO GIVE ASSISTANCE ONLY TO THE SAIGON GOVERNMENT. WE ARE PARTICULARLY ACTIVE IN THIS QUESTION IN THE WORLD BANK GROUP.

O. THE SWEDISH VIETNAM POLICIES HAVE OCCASIONALLY BEEN CHARACTERIZED AS A KIND OF SUPPORTFOR COMMUNIST EXPANSION EFFORTS. THIS IS A FALSE INTERPRETATION. THE WAR IN VIETNAM HAS BEEN A CONSEQUENCE OF THE DESIRE BY THE PEOPLE THERE TO FREE THEMSELVES FROM THE CHAINS OF COLONIALISM. THE AMERICAN WARFARE HAS AMOUNTED TO A TAKE-OVER OF THIS COLONIAL WAR. IT HAS NOT SERVED AS ANY PROTECTION FOR DEMOCRACY, IN THE UNITED STATES OR IN WESTERN EUROPE. ON THE CONTRARY--THE FACT THAT THE WAR HAS BEEN CARRIED ON IN THE NAMEOF DEMOCRACY HAS INSTEAD MEANT A DISGRACE OF DEMOCRACY. IN OUR OPINION, THE TALK ABOUT A WORLD COMMUNIST AGGSSION IS NOT CORRECT. IT CONCERNS RATHER THE RIGHT OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE TO SELF GOVERNMENT AND FREEDOM FROM OPPRESSION. THEREFORE, THE VERY FIRST COMMENT BY THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT ON THE CONFLICT IS STILL VALID TODAY: IT IS AN ILLUSION TO THINK THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO MEET DEMANDS FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE BY VIOLENCE AND MILITARY POWER. (GAVLE SPEECH BY PALME IN 1965).

P. WE HAVE NOT SILENTLY OBSERVED WHAT HAS HAPPENED DURING THE LAST DECADE. IF WE HAD BEEN SILENT, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN INTERPRETED AS IF WE ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STOCKH 00448 02 OF 02 271841Z

THAT THE SMALL STATES MUST NOT DEMAND THEIR RIGHTS. THE CONFLICT IN VIETNAM CONCERNS A SMALL NATION'S RIGHT TO FORM ITS OWN FUTURE, THE RIGHT OF A PEOPLE TO LIVE ITS OWN LIFE, AND TO DECIDE ON ITS OWN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

2. EMBASSY COMMENTS TO FOLLOW.
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